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FM THE SITUATION ROOM TOHAK 167

TO AMEMBASSY GENEVA

S E C R E T/SENSITIVE EYES ONLY WH37736

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SECTION ONE OF SIX

TOHAK 167

DELIVER O.O.R.

TO RALPH SIGLER FOR LARRY EAGLEBURGER

DECEMBER 20, 1973

TO: LARRY EAGLEBURGER
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

1. SHALEV REQUESTS CONFIRMATION OF THE ACCURACY OF THIS TEXT OF THE MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING. (QUOTE A ATTACHED)

2. ALSO THERE FOLLOWS FOR YOUR INFORMATION THE VERBATIM STATEMENT MADE BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE KNESSET TODAY. (QUOTE B ATTACHED)

WARM REGARDS.

QUOTE A

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

THIS MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING IS INTENDED TO EXPRESS HOW ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES WILL APPROACH THEIR RESPECTIVE ROLES AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

1. THE GOVERNMENTS OF ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES AGREE THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS AIMED AT THE ATTAINMENT OF A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE BETWEEN THE PARTIES, THAT THIS PEACE WILL BE A CONTRACTURAL PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS, AND THAT ITS OBJECTIVE IS FULL RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES.

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2. IN THE SPIRIT OF THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONSULT FULLY WITH ISRAEL ON A STEP-BY-STEP BASIS WITH

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

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RESPECT TO ANY IDEAS IT MAY WISH TO EXPLORE WITH THE SOVIETS OR WITH THE ARABS CONCERNING THE SETTLEMENT.

3. THE U.S. WILL MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT WITH THE SYRIANS AND SOVIETS TO ACHIEVE A PROMPT AND SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN POW PROBLEM. IT WILL PRESS SYRIA TO SUBMIT PROMPTLY A LIST OF POW'S, TO PERMIT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS TO VISIT THEM AND REPORT THAT THEY ARE BEING TREATED IN CONFORMITY WITH THE GENEVA CONVENTION AND WILL AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE EXCHANGE OF WOUNDED POW'S. IF SYRIA HAS NOT TAKEN THE ABOVE ACTION, ISRAEL WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE OPENING PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE BUT NOT UNDERTAKE ANY SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION WITH SYRIA AT THAT PHASE, AND THE U.S. WILL SHOW FULL UNDERSTANDING FOR ISRAEL'S ATTITUDE.

4. ISRAEL REITERATES ITS DECISION TO OBSERVE SCRUPULOUSLY THE CEASEFIRE ON LAND, AIR AND SEA ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS. THE UNITED STATES WILL EXERCISE ITS GOOD OFFICES IN ORDER TO ASSURE THAT THE OTHER SIDE WILL ABIDE BY ITS UNDERTAKING TO OBSERVE SCRUPULOUSLY THE CEASEFIRE. IF THE U.S. HAS REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THERE HAS BEEN ANY CHANGE IN THE EGYPTIAN POSITION, THE U.S. WILL SEEK A RECONFIRMATION THAT THE EGYPTIAN COMMITMENT TO OBSERVE THE CEASEFIRE REMAINS IN FORCE.

5. ALL THE EXISTING ARRANGEMENTS WITH REGARD TO THE NON-MILITARY SUPPLY TO THE THIRD ARMY AS WELL AS THE CITY OF SUEZ WILL BE MAINTAINED UNLESS SUPERSEDED BY OTHER ARRANGEMENTS MUTUALLY AGREED.

6. THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO INSURE THAT THE EXISTING ARRANGEMENT REGARDING THE UNINTERRUPTED PASSAGE OF SHIPS THROUGH BAB-EL-MANDEB, TO AND FROM ISRAEL, WILL REMAIN IN FORCE, AND THAT EGYPT WILL NOT APPLY ANY BLOCKADE MEASURES.

7. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL PROCEDURE, THE PARTICIPATION AT A SUBSEQUENT PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE OF ANY POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL STATE, GROUP OR ORGANIZATION WILL REQUIRE THE AGREEMENT OF ALL THE INITIAL PARTICIPANTS.

8. THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE CONFERENCE WILL BE CONDUCTED BETWEEN THE PARTIES CONCERNED AS SPECIFIED IN RESOLUTION 33. ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES AGREE THAT IT IS THEIR VIEW THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE OPENING SESSIONS IN A NON-SUBSTANTIVE CAPACITY AND THAT HE CAN APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE WHO WOULD REMAIN THROUGHOUT THE CONFERENCE AFTER HE HAS LEFT. HIS PRINCIPAL DUTY WOULD BE TO KEEP THE

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SECRETARY GENERAL INFORMED AND TO HELP ASSURE THAT THE TECHNICAL AND CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS BEING PROVIDED BY THE U.N. ARE IN ORDER.

9. SINCE THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES ARE UNDER U.S.-USSR AUSPICES, IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE TWO MAJOR POWERS WILL MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER AND THE NEGOTIATING PARTIES. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS THE VIEW OF BOTH ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES THAT THE PRIME FOCUS SHOULD BE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES CONCERNED. THE U.S. WILL WORK IN CONCERT WITH ISRAEL TO MAXIMIZE OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF EITHER OF THE MAJOR PARTIES.

10. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT MAINTAIN A DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL SERIOUSLY QUESTIONS THE PROPRIETY AND THE FEASIBILITY OF THE SOVIET UNION ACTING AS ONE OF THE TWO POWERS UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES THE CONFERENCE IS BEING HELD. THE UNITED STATES NOTES ISRAEL'S RESERVATIONS REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET

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SECTION 2 OF 6

TOHAK167

DELIVER D.O.B.

TO RALPH SIGLER FOR LARRY EAGLEBURGER

UNION AT THE CONFERENCE. THE UNITED STATES WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT IN ITS CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION TO ENCOURAGE IT TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AT THE CONFERENCE.

11. THE PEACE CONFERENCE WILL NOT DISCUSS OR TAKE ANY ACTION ON ANY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE PRIOR TO THE ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL, OTHER THAN THE QUESTION OF THE DISENGAGEMENT AND SEPARATION OF FORCES. THE PEACE CONFERENCE WILL RECONVENE ONLY AFTER THE NEW CABINET IS FORMED. #

12. THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO PREVENT ANY ATTEMPT TO CONVENE THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL OR ANY OTHER U.N. BODY FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISCUSSING OR TAKING ACTION ON ANY OF THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES WHICH WERE DISCUSSED AT KILOMETER 101 OR WHICH WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

13. ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES AGREE THAT NOTHING IN THIS MEMORANDUM ALTERS THE TEXT OF THE JOINT U.S.-USSR LETTER WHICH WILL BE DISPATCHED TO THE U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL UPON RECEIPT OF THE APPROVAL OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED.

*(PROVIDED IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT FEEL RESUMPTION OF CONFERENCE COULD BE DELAYED BEYOND MID-JANUARY).

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QUOTE B
STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE KNESSET ON
20 DECEMBER 1973

ON 13 NOVEMBER I INFORMED THE KNESSET THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF ISRAEL AND EGYPT, IN THEIR TALKS AT KILOMETER 101, HAD SIGNED THE SIX POINT AGREEMENT. AFTER THE SIGNATURE, DETAILED TALKS CONTINUED BETWEEN OUR REPRESENTATIVE, YARIV, AND THE EGYPTIAN ARMY REPRESENTATIVE, GENERAL GAMASY, AND A NUMBER OF MUTUAL COMMITMENTS ARISING OUT OF THE SIX POINT AGREEMENT INCLUDING THE EXCHANGE OF ALL THE WOUNDED AND OTHER PRISONERS, WERE ARRANGED. THE MEETING WITH OUR DEAR ONES WHO WERE LIBERATED FROM CAPTIVITY IN EGYPT AND RETURNED TO US WAS A MOVING EXPERIENCE TO EVERY MAN AND WOMAN IN ISRAEL.

IN THE SAME STATEMENT TO THE KNESSET ON 13 NOVEMBER I SAID, INTER ALIA:

"THE STABILIZATION OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE RELAXATION OF MILITARY TENSION ARE IMPORTANT AND ESSENTIAL OBJECTIVES FOR THE PREVENTION OF THE RESUMPTION AND CONTINUATION OF THE WAR. THIS AIM IS IN ITSELF SUFFICIENT IN ORDER THAT WE SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ATTAIN IT -- PARTICULARLY SINCE WE DESIRE TO REGARD IT AS A SERVICE TOWARDS AN EVEN LOFTIER GOAL: THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE."

THIS GOAL ALSO GUIDED US DURING THE TALKS AT KILOMETER 101. OUR REPRESENTATIVE YARIV, FOLLOWING THE GOVERNMENT'S DIRECTIVES, SUBMITTED PROPOSALS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE 2 OF THE AGREEMENT, WHICH DEALS WITH THE SEPARATION AND DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES BUT HIS PROPOSALS WERE REJECTED BY EGYPT'S REPRESENTATIVES, AND THE PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BY THE EGYPTIAN REPRESENTATIVE WERE REJECTED BY US. IN THE MIDDLE OF THE DISCUSSIONS, DESPITE OUR IMPRESSION THAT THE CLARIFICATION OF THE PROPOSALS HAD NOT YET BEEN COMPLETED, THE EGYPTIANS DECIDED ON 29 NOVEMBER NOT TO CONTINUE THE TALKS AT KILOMETER 101. THE TALKS HAVE BEEN BROKEN OFF, TO OUR GREAT REGRET, BUT THE NEED TO STABILIZE THE CEASE FIRE BY THE SEPARATION OF FORCES REMAINED. WE EXPRESSED OUR READINESS TO RESUME THE DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT WHEN THE PEACE CONFERENCE CONVENES, IN THE HOPE OF REACHING AN AGREEMENT. THE BREAKING-OFF OF THE TALKS AT KILOMETER 101 ON EGYPT'S INITIATIVE MADE IT NECESSARY TO EXERCISE

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REDOUBLED ALERTNESS IN THE MILITARY ARENA, IN VIEW OF THE POSSIBILITY OF AGGRESSIVE MOVES ON THE PART OF EGYPT. REGRETTABLY DESPITE THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO THE CEASEFIRE, BREACHES OF THE CEASEFIRE OCCUR ALMOST EVERY DAY THROUGH FIRE FROM EGYPTIAN ARMY POSITIONS TOWARDS OUR FORCES. HUNDREDS OF SUCH INCIDENTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE 24 OCTOBER, AND THERE HAVE EVEN BEEN CASUALTIES. ON THIS OCCASION I CALL UPON THE EGYPTIAN AUTHORITIES TO COMPLY WITH THEIR OBLIGATION TO OBSERVE THE CEASEFIRE TO PUT THE SAFETY CATCH ON THEIR ARMS.

ALL THIS TIME THE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE HAS BEEN CONTINUING HIS EFFORTS TO GET AGREEMENT FROM THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO TAKE PART IN A PEACE CONFERENCE BETWEEN OURSELVES AND OUR NEIGHBORS. IN THE COURSE OF HIS EFFORTS

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TO AMEMBASSY GENEVA

SECRET/SENSITIVE EYES ONLY WH37736 SECTION THREE OF SIX

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ТОНАК 167

DELIVER DOB

TO RALPH SIGLER FOR LARRY EAGLEHURGER

HE HAS VISITED THE ARAB CAPITALS AND THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL.

IN OUR TALKS IN JERUSALEM, FOLLOWING UPON MY TALKS WITH HIM IN WASHINGTON, I DISCUSSED WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE IMPORTANT ISSUES IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONFERENCE. THE QUESTION OF THE AUSPICES FOR THE CONFERENCE, THE STATES WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES WOULD BE INVITED, THE STAGES OF THE DISCUSSIONS, AND SO FORTH, WERE DISCUSSED. WE ALSO HELD A DETAILED DISCUSSION ON THE QUESTION OF SEPARATION OF FORCES, AND ISSUE WHICH DR. KISSINGER WISHED TO STUDY THOROUGHLY IN CONTACTS WITH THE AUTHORITIES OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL. THIS DISCUSSION HAS NOT YET BEEN COMPLETED.

THE SPONSORS OF THE CONFERENCE, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, HAD INTENDED TO CONVENE IT ON 18 DECEMBER BUT THEY HAD TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THEIR LETTER TO THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL, WHO IS CONVENING THE CONFERENCE. AS A RESULT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PARTIES - ISRAEL INCLUDED - THERE WAS A POSTPONEMENT.

IN THE LETTER FROM THE U.S. AND THE USSR TO THE U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL, DATED 18 DECEMBER 1973, WHICH WAS COMPOSED FOLLOWING DELIBERATIONS WITH THE PARTIES, IT IS STATED:

"DEAR MR. SECRETARY GENERAL:

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"ON OCTOBER 22, 1973, THE SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTED RESOLUTION 338, JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES WHICH CALLS FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO START BETWEEN THE PARTIES CONCERNED UNDER APPROPRIATE AUSPICES, AIMED AT ESTABLISHING A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE NOW BEEN INFORMED BY THE PARTIES CONCERNED OF THEIR READINESS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PEACE CONFERENCE WHICH WILL BEGIN IN GENEVA ON DECEMBER 21. THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE CONVENED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

"THE PARTIES HAVE AGREED THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE UNDER THE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES. THE PARTIES HAVE ALSO AGREED THAT THE QUESTION OF OTHER PARTICIPANTS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST AREA WILL BE DISCUSSED DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE.

"IT IS OUR HOPE THAT YOU WILL FIND IT POSSIBLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE OPENING PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE AT WHICH IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED WILL BE REPRESENTED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND LATER BY THEIR SPECIALLY APPOINTED REPRESENTATIVES WITH AMBASSADORIAL RANK. WE ALSO HOPE THAT YOU CAN MAKE AVAILABLE A REPRESENTATIVE WHO WOULD KEEP YOU FULLY INFORMED AS THE CONFERENCE PROCEEDS. FINALLY WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE IT IF THE UNITED NATIONS COULD MAKE APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NECESSARY CONFERENCE FACILITIES.

"IF, AS WE HOPE, YOU FIND IT POSSIBLE TO PARTICIPATE, AS CO-CHAIRMAN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD AGREE TO SERVE AS CONVENER OF THE CONFERENCE AND PRESIDE IN THE OPENING PHASE.

"WE REQUEST THAT YOU CIRCULATE THIS LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR THEIR INFORMATION. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONSULT INFORMALLY WITH THE MEMBERSHIP WITH A VIEW TO SECURING A FAVORABLE CONSENSUS OF THE COUNCIL."

THE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE ATTACHED SUPREME IMPORTANCE TO THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE WITHIN THE MONTH OF DECEMBER. IT APPEARS TO ME THAT HE WAS ANXIOUS OVER THE

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POSSIBILITY OF ANY POSTPONEMENT, TEST OBSTACLES CROPPED UP AND POSSIBLY EVEN THE FIRING WAS RESUMED. WE TOO, FOR OUR PART, WERE NOT INTERESTED IN DELAYS OR POSTPONEMENTS FOR THE VERY SAME REASONS. OUR FORCES ARE DEPLOYED AGAINST ANY AGGRESSIVE INITIATIVE BY EGYPT OR SYRIA BUT WE DO NOT WANT A RESUMPTION OF THE WAR.

ISRAELI AGREEMENT WAS, THEREFORE, GIVEN TO THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE IN DECEMBER, PROVIDED THE SUBSTANTIAL DISCUSSIONS ON THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECT OF PEACE ARE HELD AT A LATER DATE, AFTER THE ELECTIONS TO THE EIGHTH KNESSET, AND ARE ALREADY CONDUCTED ON THE RESPONSIBILITY OF A CABINET WHICH SHALL HAVE RECEIVED THE CONFIDENCE OF THE NEW KNESSET. I AM HAPPY TO NOTE THAT THIS CONDITION OF OURS HAS BEEN ACCEPTED. THE CONFERENCE WILL OPEN TOMORROW, FRIDAY, 21 DECEMBER 1973, BEFORE THE KNESSET ELECTIONS, BUT THE INITIAL STAGE WILL BE BRIEF AND FORMAL ONLY AND WILL LAST TWO DAYS. AT THE OPENING CEREMONY, ADDRESSES WILL BE DELIVERED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE INVITED STATES, AS WELL AS THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE

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SECTION FOUR OF SIX

TOHAK 167

DELIVER DND.B.

TO RALPH SIGLER FOR LARRY FAGLERBURGER

UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THERE WILL BE AN INTERVAL THEREAFTER AND THE CONFERENCE WILL BE RESUMED IN THE COURSE OF JANUARY. AS ADDRESAID, THE CONFERENCE STARTS TOMORROW AND MUCH TO OUR REGRET DESPITE ALL OUR EFFORTS TO ENSURE THAT THERE WILL BE NO SESSIONS ON THE SABBATH, NO WAY WAS FOUND TO CHANGE THE TIMING DETERMINED, AND IT WILL INDEED CONTINUE ALSO ON SATURDAY, 22 DECEMBER, 1973.

THE OPENING STAGE WILL LAST ONLY TWO DAYS BUT DURING THIS SHORT PERIOD ARRANGEMENTS AND PROCEDURES WILL BE DETERMINED WHICH WILL INFLUENCE THE ENTIRE COURSE OF THE CONFERENCE AND IT DOES NOT APPEAR FEASIBLE TO ME THAT WE CAN AFFORD TO BE ABSENT FROM HALF THE TIME OF THE DISCUSSIONS.

THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS ANNOUNCED AT THE CABINET SESSION THAT ISRAEL'S REPRESENTATIVES WHO WILL BE COMPELLED - IN THIS GIVEN SITUATION - TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON SATURDAY, WILL, OF COURSE, SCRUPULOUSLY REFRAIN FROM DESECRATING THE SABBATH. ALMOST CERTAINLY THE FIRST MATTER TO BE DEALT WITH BY THE CONFERENCE IN JANUARY 1974 WILL BE THE DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES, WHICH IS PART OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT (ARTICLE 2 OF THE SIX POINT AGREEMENT). I HAVE NOTED THAT PRESIDENT SADAT HAS SAID PUBLICLY THAT HE ALSO IS PREPARED TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT, BEFORE THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN FORMED.

AS I HAVE SAID THE PRINCIPAL STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BEGIN AND CONTINUE ACCORDING TO THE DIRECTIVES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT. IN ORAL AND WRITTEN CONTACTS WITH

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THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE THE MAIN CONDITIONS AND THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE CONVENING OF THE CONFERENCE HAVE BEEN THOROUGHLY CLARIFIED. IN THE COURSE OF THESE CONTACTS WE HAVE AGREED TO THE DEFINITION OF THE FUNCTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE FUNCTION ALLOTTED TO THE U.N. HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY CLARIFIED: THE AUSPICES OF THE U.N. ARE LIMITED TO THE CONVENING OF THE CONFERENCE. THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL WILL SERVE AS THE CONVENER OF THE CONFERENCE AND THE CHAIRMAN AT ITS OPENING SESSION. THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL DISPATCHED THE INVITATIONS AT THE REQUEST OF THE U.S. AND THE USSR IN THEIR LETTER WHICH I HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED. HE WILL ENSURE THAT THE U.N. ORGANIZATION WILL PLACE AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE CONFERENCE THE SERVICES REQUIRED FOR EFFECTIVE WORKING.

ON 15 DECEMBER, THE SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTED A DISTURBING RESOLUTION IN REFERENCE TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE. FOUR OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS, INCLUDING THE U.S. AND THE USSR ABSTAINED. LET US RECALL THAT ISRAEL HAS NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH FIVE OUT OF THE TEN STATES THAT VOTED FOR THE RESOLUTION. I MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE THE SUBJECTS OF THE DISCUSSIONS AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE WITHIN THE ACTIVITY AND AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL BE IN DANGEROUS CONTRADICTION TO THE BASIS AND PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE, AND WILL MEET WITH EXPLICIT OPPOSITION ON OUR PART. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD ACQUIESCE IN SUCH A BREACH OF THE AGREED ASSUMPTIONS. WE SHALL NOT FIND OURSELVES ISOLATED IN FACING SUCH A DANGEROUS MOVE, WHICH VIOLATES THE CONSENT WHICH IS THE BASIS OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

THE ARAB STATES WHICH HAVE BEEN INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THE CONFERENCE ARE EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA. LEBANON HAS NOT YET BEEN INVITED, BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT IT WILL BE INVITED AT A LATER STAGE. EGYPT AND JORDAN HAVE ACCEPTED THE INVITATION WHILE SYRIA HAS REPLIED IN THE NEGATIVE. WITH GREAT REGRET I HAVE TO INFORM THE HOUSE THAT THE SYRIAN RULERS STILL REPLY WITH A FLAT REFUSAL TO OUR DEMAND FOR THE LIBERATION OF OUR PRISONERS. ON OUR PART PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN MADE TO THEM WHICH ARE BEYOND THE LIMITS OF OUR COMMITMENTS - BUT IN VAIN. INFLUENTIAL POLITICAL ELEMENTS HAVE REPEATEDLY APPEALED TO THE SYRIAN RULERS - WITHOUT EFFECT.

THE PRESIDENT OF SYRIA WHO WAS ASKED TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT OF THE PRISONERS, STATED THAT FROM THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECT THIS WAS NOT A SUBJECT REQUIRING PARTICULAR DISCUSSION. AND NOW THE SYRIANS HAVE DECLARED THAT THEY WILL NOT BE COMING TO GENEVA. I DO NOT KNOW HOW THE SYRIANS EXPLAIN THEIR REFUSAL TO TAKE PART IN THE PEACE CONFERENCE. EVEN BEFORE THEY CAME OUT WITH THIS STATEMENT WE MADE IT CLEAR-

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TOHAK 167

DELIVER DOB

TO RALPH SIGLER FOR LARRY EAGLERURGER

BOTH FROM THE KNESSET ROSTRUM AND TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES - THAT AS LONG AS NO LIST OF OUR PRISONERS IS RECEIVED BY US AND THE RED CROSS IS NOT PERMITTED TO VISIT THEM WE CANNOT SIT DOWN WITH THEM AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AT ANY STAGE.

WE TRIED TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THE SYRIANS THROUGH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE RED CROSS. THROUGH THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE WE LEARNED OF THE SYRIAN PROPOSAL THAT WE AGREE TO THE RETURN OF 15,000 SYRIAN CITIZENS TO THE AREAS CAPTURED BY THE I.D.F. IN THE YOM KIPPUR WAR AND TO RETURN OF THE CIVILIANS AND TO THE STATIONING OF U.N. FORCES IN THE TWO POSITIONS REFERRED TO. WHAT IS MORE, IN MY TALK WITH DR. GUYER, THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE U.N., I PROPOSED THAT A MEETING BETWEEN SENIOR ISRAELI AND SYRIAN OFFICERS BE HELD SIMILAR TO KILOMETER 101. WE DID NOT RECEIVE ANY AFFIRMATIVE REPLY.

I REALIZE AND UNDERSTAND WHAT MUST BE THE FEELINGS OF THE FAMILIES WHOSE DEAR ONES HAVE BEEN TAKEN PRISONER BY THE SYRIANS. ALL OF US ARE AGHAST AT THE DREADFUL NEWS AND RUMORS WHICH HAVE REACHED US.

WE SHALL NOT CEASE IN OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE THE INTERVENTION OF FACTORS WHICH CAN SPEED UP THE LIBERATION OF OUR SOLDIERS. THE SYRIAN RULERS ARE ASSUMING A TERRIBLE RESPONSIBILITY AND WE WILL NOT EXEMPT THEM FROM THIS

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RESPONSIBILITY.

THE NEGOTIATIONS ON PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST MUST BE CONDUCTED BETWEEN THE STATES CONCERNED: NAMELY, BETWEEN ISRAEL ON THE ONE HAND AND ISRAEL'S NEIGHBOURS - EGYPT, JORDAN, SYRIA AND LEBANON - ON THE OTHER. THERE IS NO REASON TO INVITE TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS ANY ADDITIONAL STATES BESIDES THE U.S. AND THE USSR WHICH UNDERTOOK THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE CONFERENCE. THERE IS NO CONCEIVABLE OBJECTIVE CRITERION BY WHICH ADDITIONAL STATES SHOULD BE INVITED. WE ARE AWARE OF THE FACT THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS STATES HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR WISH TO TAKE PART IN THE CONFERENCE. THIS INCLUDES STATES NOT OUTSTANDING IN THEIR NEUTRALITY. THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT HAS EXPRESSED ITS OPPOSITION TO THE INVITATIONS OF ADDITIONAL STATES OR OF NON-SOVEREIGN FACTORS, AND WE ARE CONVINCED THAT BY THIS OPPOSITION WE ARE SAFEGUARDING THE CONFERENCE AGAINST DANGEROUS COMPLICATIONS.

IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT WE SHOULD HAVE VOICED OUR EXPLICIT OPPOSITION TO ANY NOTION OF INVITING THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION OR ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION AT ANY STATE WHATSOEVER.

IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT WE SHOULD AGREE TO TAKE PART IN A CONFERENCE TO WHICH REPRESENTATIVES OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD BE INVITED, NOT TO SPEAK OF NEGOTIATING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE DECLARED AIM IS THE DESTRUCTION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

WE HAVE NO COMMON DENOMINATOR WITH ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ACTS OF TERRORISM AND MURDER. WE SHALL NEGOTIATE WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NEIGHBOURING STATES WITH WHICH WE HAVE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENTS. WE ARE NOT IGNORING THE DISTURBING FACT THAT ONE OF THE POWERS UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES THE CONFERENCE IS MEETING HAS SEVERED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. THIS POWER PLAYED A CONSIDERABLE PART IN DEVELOPING ARAB MILITARY STRENGTH AND IN PREPARING EGYPT AND SYRIA FOR WAR. IN THE COURSE OF THE CONFERENCE IT WILL BECOME CLEAR WHETHER THIS POWER IS ACTUALLY CONDUCTING ITSELF IN A MANNER FITTING TO THE AIM OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

I AM CONVINCED THAT THE POLICY OF THE U.S. AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE WILL BE GUIDED BY SINCERE GOODWILL AND WILL BE DESIGNED TO OFFER AID TO THE PARTIES AS REQUIRED IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND ACHIEVE A CONTRACTUAL AND BINDING PEACE TREATY.

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THE ROLE FULFILLED BY THE U.S. SINCE 6 OCTOBER AND THE UNTIRING EFFORTS OF SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER IN CAIRO, AMMAN AND OTHER ARAB CAPITALS HAVE BEEN OF NO SMALL ASSISTANCE TO THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE SIX POINT AGREEMENT REPRESENTING THE LOGICAL AND OPERATIONAL CONTINUATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S CEASEFIRE RESOLUTION.

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FINAL SECTION OF SIX

TOHAK 167

DELIVER D.O.B.

TO RALPH SIGLER FOR LARRY EAGLEBURGER

WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE CLEAR CUT STAND OF THE U.S., AS FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED IN PUBLIC IN FAVOUR OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES. WITH THE HELP OF THIS CLEAR CUT POLICY WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT AND DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH EACH OF THE ARAB STATES BORDERING UPON ISRAEL AND TO ADVANCE TOWARDS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTIONS IN DISPUTE.

WE ATTACH SUPREME IMPORTANCE TO WHAT IS STATED IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 ON THE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS. THIS TIME THERE IS AN EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES: UP TO THAT POINT THERE HAD BEEN NO LACK OF ATTEMPTS AT MEDIATION SPONSORSHIP AND GOOD OFFICES, ALL OF THEM WITHOUT DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. ISRAEL WILL BE ON THE WATCH THAT NO MISINTERPRETATION SHALL ARISE ON THIS POINT WHICH IS THE POSITIVE AND SIGNIFICANT INNOVATION IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WILL SEND ITS AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVES TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE WITH CLEAR CUT DIRECTIVES TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ADVANCE TOWARDS AND ATTAIN PEACE. SUBSTANTIVE DIRECTIVES WILL BE ISSUED BY THE NEW GOVERNMENT, AND I DO NOT TAKE IT UPON MYSELF TO DEFINE NOW ITS ATTITUDES ON THE MAJOR POINTS AT ISSUE. HOWEVER, I HOPE AND BELIEVE THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO BE ESTABLISHED BY THE EIGHTH KNESSET AFTER THE ELECTIONS WILL EXPRESS OUR PEOPLE'S YEARNINGS FOR PEACE WITHIN DEFENSIBLE BORDERS. ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE CONFERENCE I SHALL MAKE

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NO ATTEMPT TO EXAMINE THE ATTITUDES OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE ARAB STATES. THERE WILL BE TIME FOR THIS IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSIONS AT THE CONFERENCE. THE INFLUENCE OF THE ALGIERS CONFERENCE, ITS DELIBERATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS CANNOT BUT GIVE RISE TO CONCERN. HOWEVER, WE SHALL NOT CEASE TO HOPE FOR A TURNING POINT, A NEW APPROACH FOR THE THROWING OFF OF THE SHACKLES OF EXTREME ATTITUDES DEVOID OF ANY SENSE OF REALITY.

I WOULD LIKE THE ARAB STATES TO PROCEED TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN THE SAME SPIRIT OF SINCERITY IMBUED WITH THE SAME ASPIRATIONS THAT ANIMATE THE PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, FOR THEN THE ROAD TO PEACE WILL BE SMOOTH IN BOTH DIRECTIONS. THE SEVENTH KNESSET IS CONCLUDING ITS TERM OF OFFICE IN THE WAKE OF THE DIFFICULT TRIALS AND THE SIGNIFICANT VICTORY OF THE YOM KIPPUR WAR. THE PEACE CONFERENCE WILL BE OPENING WITH THE SEVENTH KNESSET NOT YET HAVING COMPLETED ITS TERM. NO EFFORT MUST BE SPARED TO ENABLE THE STATE OF ISRAEL DURING THE TERM OF THE EIGHTH KNESSET TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON THE SEPARATION OF FORCES AND WHAT IS MORE ACHIEVE THE CENTRAL OBJECTIVE OF OUR POLICY, A LASTING PEACE. ONCE THE STAGE OF SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS IS REACHED, ISRAEL'S DELEGATES WILL STRIVE FOR A CONTRACTURAL PEACE BETWEEN THE PARTIES, WITH DEFENSIBLE BORDERS AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GUIDE LINES WHICH IN MY BELIEF WILL BE EXPRESSED IN THE BASIC POLICY OF THE NEXT GOVERNMENT.

ISRAEL'S PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS IS NOT SUBJECT TO ANY PRIOR CONDITIONS. ISRAEL HAS NOT DEMANDED PRIOR ACCEPTANCE OF HER POSITIONS BY THE OTHER PARTIES NOR IS SHE ACCEPTING BEFOREHAND THE CONDITIONS OF THE OTHER PARTIES AS STATED BY THEM PUBLICLY AND OTHERWISE, BUT EACH SIDE WILL BE FREE TO SUBMIT ITS PROPOSALS ON THE SUBJECTS UNDER DISCUSSION.

WE ARE AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES AND STRUGGLES AHEAD OF US. WE ARE ALERT TO THE DANGERS. NEVERTHELESS ISRAEL'S EMISSARIES WILL GO TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE SOBERLY, WHOLE-HEARTEDLY, AND COURAGEOUSLY.

WE SHALL LET NO ONE TAKE THE NAME OF PEACE IN VAIN. WE SHALL NOT CEASE TO STRIVE FOR A FULL PEACE IN THE SIMPLE SENSE OF THE TERM, A PEACE TO END WARS WHICH WILL OPEN UP BRIGHT PROSPECTS FOR THE UNDISTURBED DEVELOPMENT OF A LIFE OF CREATIVE PROGRESS FOR EACH AND EVERY ONE OF THE PEOPLES AND STATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

END QUOTE.

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